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ABSTRACT

A course focusing on the socially impoverished is presented. Its goals are: (1) to help the student develop an understanding of the impoverished in terms of current sociological theories and to relate theory to problem solutions, (2) to help the student develop an affective appreciation of impoverishment, and (3) to help the student to develop specific strategies directed at the reduction of the impact of impoverishment on people. The content of the syllabus is based on the assumption that all societies appear to develop one or more classes of disadvantaged persons whose life styles are such that their participation in the entire range of activities of the society are severely limited. The syllabus is directed at a detailed examination of the life styles developed by the impoverished--the poor--and the culturally deprived. (For related documents, see AC 008 317-320, 322.) (CK)

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HEURISTICS OF ADULT EDUCATION

Courses of Study for Professional Preparation of Educators of Adults

edited by Vincent J. Amanna

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A SOCIOLOGY OF IMPOVERISHED LIFE STYLES

Morton L. Arkava

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A SOCIOLOGY OF IMPOVERISHED LIFE STYLES

A Syllabus

by

Morton L. Arkava, Ph.D.
Associate Professor, Sociology and Social Welfare
University of Montana

HEURISTICS OF

ADULT EDUCATION

Courses of Study for the Professional Preparation
of Educators of Adults

PART I	SEMINAR IN ADULT BASIC EDUCATION
PART II	SOCIOLOGY OF IMPOVERISHED LIFE STYLES
PART III	PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DEPRIVATION ON ADULT LEARNERS
PART IV	ADULT TEACHING AND LEARNING
PART V	METHODS AND MATERIALS IN ADULT BASIC EDUCATION
PART VI	EVALUATION IN ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

FORWARD

> HEURISTICS: Serving to discover or reveal; applied to arguments and methods of demonstration which are persuasive rather than logically compelling, or which lead a person to find out for himself.
>
> Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language

The appropriateness of the title Heuristics of Adult Education for this series may not be apparent to the reader and we should, therefore, make clear our purposes in its preparation.

Adult education in the United States is experiencing an expansion that is to some considerable extent without precedent. The tremendous changes that followed World War II were largely manifest in increases in volume, achieving essentially the same objectives as those of the first half of this century, but with larger numbers of people. However, during the past decade a rather different adult clientele has emerged and its visibility has confronted the adult educator with questions about the adequacy of his preparation as a professional. The undereducated, economically impoverished adult has waited until only recently on the periphery of social institutions. Through the convergence of a number of related, fortunate circumstances, his plight has arisen as a prominent concern of the American educational exterprise. His social and cultural devience from the parent society has proven to be the dimension which presents the actual challenge to the adult educator and in its turn to the composition of his professional preparation. He finds that the alienation resulting from prolonged deprivation is highly resistant to amelioration through the more prosaic components of graduate study in adult education.

We are confronted with the dilemma of a double problem. On the one hand the adequacy of professional training for adult educators must be caused to accomodate the new clientele. This is not viewed at this point in time, nor in this particular project as a matter of finding substitutes for parts of the professional curriculum, but rather a concern

for enlarging competencies and understandings. On the other hand, however, there are few clear indicators of precisely what should be included; what cognitive and experiential learnings are most efficacious in relation to the objectives of graduate study.

Hence, the present project is viewed as heuristic; a clear and open invitation to everyone concerned about the competence of the professional educator of adults to discover and reveal the adequacies and shortcomings of this present effort at persuasion--a persuasion that we have discovered some guideposts in the evolution of a design for a portion of graduate study in adult education. But this is also an invitation to those who would discover where further pursuit of curriculum design for graduate study will lead, and then to share their findings with those of us who have had a part in the present project.

Vincent J. Amanna
University of Colorado
June, 1970

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Educational Goals

1. To help the student develop an understanding of the impoverished in terms of current sociological theories and to relate theory to problem solutions.

2. To help the student develop an affective appreciation of impoverishment.

3. To help the student to develop specific strategies directed at the reduction of the impact of impoverishment on people.

Assumptions

The content of the syllabus is based on the general assumption that all societies appear to develop one or more classes of disadvantaged persons whose life styles are such that their participation in the entire range of activities of the society are severely limited. A combination of factors resulting from both the individual's personal limitations and the social situation commonly result in the development of an adaptive pattern or life style which is significantly different from the normative patterns in the surrounding parent culture. These divergent life styles frequently produce a set of conditions that may insure the continuance of a life style, which may limit participation of several generations of persons in the total parent culture. Should their adaptation to the parent culture become severly impaired, such persons may be classified as a "deviant" population. As a result of apparent value conflicts between different life styles, societies frequently attempt to

produce significant changes in the behaviors of their "deviant" population. Such attempts can take a number of directions and can include different strategies.

Note to Instructor

This course syllabus is directed at a detailed examination of the life styles developed by the impoverished--the poor--and the culturally deprived, the major assumption for the teacher being that these are specific instances of the development of divergent life styles that are persistent social behaviors and that can best be understood by reference to a general theory of society and its reaction to such behaviors. The sociological theory, which seems to lend itself best to such an examination, is that dealing with deviant populations.

The instructor will note that some concepts are presented in greater detail than others. Detailed discussion of concepts is generally restricted to those concepts that are thought to be of a specialized nature within the field of sociology. Other concepts and materials are presented in outline form, on the assumption that most sociology teachers will be familiar with them.

Note on Teaching Methodology

In teaching an experimental version of this course it was discovered that the inclusion of at least one--and possibly more--impoverished persons in the class will provide enrichment and verisimilitude. It is recommended that an articulate impoverished person be hired as a resource person to contribute to various aspects of the course.

Please note that the course is designed to maximize opportunity for integration of field experiences with class instruction. It would be helpful to review the field assignment at the beginning of the course, and again at the appropriate point in the course sequence when students are ready to undertake their actual projects.

RECOMMENDED TEXTBOOKS

Blaustein and Woock, Man Against Poverty: World War III, New York, Vantage Books, Random House, 1968, (Paperback).

This is an excellent book of readings. It appears to offer a greater selection of relevant material than any of the other books of readings reviewed.

Seligman, Ben B. (editor), Poverty as a Public Issue, New York, The Free Press, 1965, (Paperback).

This is also a good book of readings well suited to this course.

TEACHING METHODOLOGY - PART I

Teaching methodology for Part I, which deals primarily with the presentation of a rather complex set of theoretical concepts, should follow a pattern of short lectures followed by group discussion. If possible, each of the three major subsections presented--(1) general sociological theory, (2) deviant behavior theory as developed by Becker, and (3) the integration of deviant behavior theory with general sociological theory--should be presented separately and followed by a discussion period.

SELECTED REFERENCES - PART I

Core Readings

Becker, Howard S., The Other Side. New York: The Free Press, 1964. Especially pp. 1-6. Topic: Brief review of deviant behavior theories.

Erickson, Kai T., "Notes on the Sociology of Deviance," in Becker, Howard S., The Other Side. New York: The Free Press, 1964. Topic: An approach to deviant behavior theory.

GENERAL THEORETICAL BACKGROUND - PART I

Sociological Concepts

A social system as defined by Parsons is the organization of society's component parts into a form which:

A. Sustains internal equilibrium

B. Resists change and maintains boundaries

Identity features of any social system are the core values around which the system's activities are organized. Give examples of the American core values: Protestant Ethic and Capitalistic System. Relate to concept of internal equilibrium.

Boundary maintenance (boundary of any social system consists of behaviors of members) is the control of the fluctuation of the constituent parts so that the whole social system remains a clearly defined range of activity. Social groups maintain boundaries in the sense that they limit the flow of behavior within their domain so that they can identify clearly the range of acceptable behaviors for their members. Behavior not acceptable for a member is frequently acceptable in an "outsider." Boundaries: (1) help persons within a system to identify their own position within the system and, in relation to others outside the system, they have the boundaries as points of reference; (2) they also help to identify the limits of any social system as a distinct social entity. Boundaries help persons to distinguish what kinds of experiences belong from those that do not belong.

Discussion Topics

1. For class discussion, consider the school or a social agency as a social system. Relate different behavioral expectations of nonmembers of each system as opposed to members. For example, children in school as contrasted to children out of school.

2. Discuss the organization of different social systems in terms of different core value systems.

Deviant Behavior Theory

The concepts for deviant behavior theory utilized in the syllabus are derived primarily from the works of Howard S. Becker. The essentials of the Becker position will be stated. However, it should be recognized that there are a number of different approaches to explaining deviant behavior theory. (See Cohen, op. cit.) This is an excellent overall reference and provides several different perspectives on various theoretical approaches to the study of deviant behavior.

Definitions of Deviance

Several different definitions have been advanced. These can be reduced to five distinctly different positions.

1. The simplest view of deviance is essentially statistical, defining as deviant anything that varies too widely from the average. There are many problems with this relatively oversimplified approach to deviance. The major limitation is that one can describe anything that differs from what is most common as a deviation. For example, in this view, to be left-handed or redheaded is to be deviant,

because most people are right-handed and brunet.

2. A less simple, but much more common, view of deviance is the pathological or disease concept. This view rests on a medical analogy to the human organism. When it is working efficiently and experiencing no discomfort, it is said to be healthy. If it does not work efficiently, a disease is thought to be present. The organ or function that has become deranged is said to be pathological. This approach is limited in that although there is little disagreement as to what constitutes health in an organism, there is much less agreement as to what constitutes pathology.

3. Some sociologists also use a model of deviance based essentially on the medical model of health and disease. They look at a society or some part of a society and ask whether there are any processes going on in it that tend to reduce its stability, thus lessening its chance of survival. They label such processes as deviant or identify them as symptoms of social disorganization. The limitations of this approach include the question of the appropriateness of this as a suitable model for a society.

4. The fourth approach simply defines deviance as "the failure to obey group rules." However, the limitations of this approach are also apparent in that we are still not clear about which rules are to be taken seriously, and which rules are to be ignored. If we define all group rules as equally important, then we would be stuck with a classification that included the very large majority of our population. As an example, anyone running a stop sign would then be considered a deviant.

5. A fifth position is the one developed by Becker. He specifies that whether an act is deviant depends on how other people react to it. Becker basically suggests that a given act cannot be categorized as deviant until the response of other people has been determined. Deviance is not a quality that lies in behavior itself, but in the interaction between the person who commits the act and those who respond to it. Becker postulates that at least four distinct types of deviants can be identified from his theoretical scheme.

TYPES OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

	Obediant Behavior	Rule Breaking Behavior
Perceived as deviant	Falsely accused	Pure deviant
Not perceived as deviant	Conforming	Secret deviant

Conforming behavior is simply obeying the rules while other people perceive it as such.

The other extreme is the pure deviant type of behavior, which is both rule breaking and perceived as such.

The falsely accused deviant is one who is seen by others as having committed an improper action, although, in fact, he may not have done so. So a person who is falsely accused but is perceived by others as being a deviant is treated as a deviant by others.

The secret deviant is similar in an opposite way; that is, persons who break the rules are not perceived by others as doing so, and thus are treated as nondeviant.

The Career Concept as Applied to Deviants

Becker postulates that the deviant can be viewed in terms of a possible deviant "career," that is, we can study the sequence of movements from the position of nondeviant in a society to the position of deviant.

In order to understand the career concept, it is necessary to identify the sequence of steps which describe the movement from a nondeviant position to a deviant position. The steps include:

1. The experience of being caught and publicly labeled as a deviant.

2. The denial of the ordinary means of carrying on the routines of everyday life. Because of this denial, the deviant must, if necessary, develop illegitimate routines in the event that public reaction may be so extreme as to impinge on the normal routines that he had previously developed.

3. The final step in the career of the deviant is the movement into an organized deviant group.

Status Traits

The experience of being perceived as a deviant by other people in a society has a profound impact on the person in terms of possible future social mobility. In order to understand this concept fully, it is necessary to develop the related concepts of status traits. To be labeled as a deviant has important consequences for one's further social participation. The most important consequence is a drastic change in the individual's identity.

Committing the improper act and being publicly labeled as a deviant places the person in a new status. He has been revealed to be a different kind of person from the kind he was supposed to be. People can be labeled as a lunatic, dope fiend, or queer, etc. and are treated accordingly.

Everett Hughes distinguishes between master and auxiliary status traits (op cit.).

Master Status Traits

This is the one key trait which serves to distinguish those who belong from those who do not. Thus, a doctor, whatever else he might be, is a person who has a certificate stating that he has fulfilled certain requirements and is licensed to practice medicine. This is a master trait. As Hughes points out, in our society a doctor is also informally expected to have a number of auxiliary traits. Thus, people expect him to be upper-middle class, white, male, and Protestant. When he is not, there is a sense that he has, in some way, failed to fill the bill. Similarly, though skin color is the master status trait determining who is Negro and who is white, Negroes are informally expected to have certain status traits and not others. People are surprised and find it hard to believe when a Negro turns out to be a doctor or a college professor. It is important to note that one may have formal qualifications for entry into a master status, but be denied full entry because of the lack of proper auxiliary traits.

The same process occurs in the case of deviant statuses. Possession of one deviant trait may have a generalized symbolic

value. People may automatically assume that its bearer possesses other undesirable traits alledgedly associated with it. For example, to be labeled a criminal, one need only commit a single criminal offense. This is all the term formally refers to. Yet, the word carries a number of connotations specifying auxiliary traits characteristic of anyone bearing the label. A man who has been convicted of housebreaking and thereby is labeled criminal, is presumed to be a person likely to break into other houses. Thus, apprehension for one deviant act exposes a person to the likelihood that he will be regarded as deviant or undesirable in other respects.

Hughes also distinguishes between <u>master</u> and subordinate <u>statuses</u>. Some statuses in our society, as in others, override all other statuses and have a certain priority. Race is one of these. Membership in the Negro race, as socially defined, will override most other status considerations in most situations. The fact that one is a physician or middle-class or female will not protect one from being treated as a Negro first and any of these other things second.

The status of deviant depending on the kind of deviance is a master status trait. One receives the status as a result of breaking a rule. The identification as a deviant proves to be more important than most other identifications. One will be identified as a deviant before other identifications are made. The same generalization could be made with regard to the poor person, especially the welfare recipient, in our society. To be

a welfare recipient is, in some cases, a master status trait applied to persons who are known to have received welfare assistance. The picture of a welfare recipient is one richly endowed with popular imagery in our society.

The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

If people treat you as a certain type of deviant, you are restricted to association with other deviants and restricted from associating with nondeviants. This kind of treatment may ultimately reinforce deviant behaviors and allow social participation to be limited to other deviants.

Labeling Process

The labeling process deals with the clarification and elaboration of the steps by which a person acquires a master status trait. The material on the labeling process is derived primarily from Garfinkle, op. cit.

The basic concept involves the recognition that the process of becoming a deviant is not a simple act of censorship by the community but rather a sharp rite of transition which moves the person out of his normal position in society and transfers him into a distinctly identifiable deviant role. The ceremonies which accomplish this change of status have at least three related phases as identified by Garfinkle:

1. Formal confrontation between the deviant suspect and representatives of his community. For example, as in the criminal trial or psychiatric case conference.

2. The announcement of a judgement about the nature of the deviancy. For example, a verdict or diagnosis.

3. The act of social placement which assigns the deviant to a special role, like that of prisoner or patient which actually serves to make visible his redefined position in society. The essential feature of the above transition process renders the person socially visible as a deviant.

Relate this back to the two-dimensional classification scheme used by Becker to show the distinction between observed and nonobserved deviant behavior.

Relate the process of becoming a deviant to the master and auxiliary traits as described by Hughes. The essential point is the relative irreversibility of some deviant positions. For example, most provisional roles conferred by society, like those of student or conscripted soldier, include some kind of terminal ceremony to mark the individual's movement back out of the role, when its temporary advantages have been exhausted. The roles allotted to the deviant seldom make allowance for this type of reversal. The deviant is moved into a socially prominent deviant position; that is, other people are made aware of his deviant position by a decisive and often dramatic ceremony. The same person is retired from this deviant position with hardly a word of public notice. For example, contrast the difference between being sentenced to prison as a result of a public trial, and being released from prison with no one available to observe the release. As a result of this lack of provision for reversibility of the

deviant label, the deviant returns home with no proper license to resume a normal life in the community. Nothing has happened to cancel out the stigma imposed upon him by earlier commitment ceremonies. From the point of view of the observer, the original verdict or act of placement as a deviant is still in effect.

Discussion Topics

1. Discuss the typology of deviants developed by Becker as related to ideal "types" found in school systems.

2. Discuss the three conditions for successful labeling as they are practiced by schools and social agencies.

3. Discuss the "self-fulfilling prophecy."

Some Sociological Functions of Deviance

Integrate the previous theoretical discussion of deviant theory with general sociological theory (see Erickson, op. cit.).

Erickson's definition is consistent with that developed by Becker. Erickson defines deviance as "conduct which is generally thought to require the attention of social control agencies. . . . It is conduct about which something must be done." In other words, deviance is not a property inherent in certain forms of behavior, but it is a property conferred upon those forms of behavior by the audiences which directly or indirectly witness them. Erickson raises a basic question about the general belief held in sociology that deviance itself may be harmful to the society. He questions the view that society sets up machinery of social control in order to protect itself against the potential

harmful effects of deviation in much the same way an organism mobilizes its resources to combat an invasion of germs. Instead, he suggests that deviant behavior can play an important part in keeping the social order intact.

The question to which Erickson directs himself, is the manner in which the boundaries of social systems are delineated and maintained. He suggests that deviant behaviors render an important social function in terms of helping any social system define its boundaries more clearly. His central hypothesis is that the transactions that occur between deviant persons on the one side and agencies of social control on the other are boundary maintaining mechanisms. They mark the outside limits of the area within which the norm has jurisdiction. In this way, they assert how much diversity and variability can be contained within the system before it begins to lose its distinct structure, its cultural integrity. For support for this position, he cites the evidence that the transactions between deviant persons and agents of social control have attracted a great deal of public attention, in this and other cultures. For example, consider the amount of space and effort given in the various public mass media to the trial and punishment of deviant offenders. Consider the spectacular way in which news agencies cover murder trials and various events of violence which are considered deviant in our society.

Deviance is not regarded simply as behavior which disrupts stability in any given society, but is viewed in controlled quantities as an important condition for preserving stability.

Discussion Topics

1. Discuss the relative amount of space devoted by different media to deviant behaviors.

2. Discuss the relative amount of time spent by school personnel in their lunch rooms discussing deviant behaviors of students and others.

Supplementary Readings

Becker, Howard S., Outsiders. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963. Especially pp. 1-24, 165-176.

Cohen, Albert K., Deviance and Control. New York: The Free Press, 1967.

Garfinkle, Harold, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies," American Journal of Sociology. March 1956, pp. 420-424. Also available in Bobbs - Merrill reprints.

Hughes, Everett C., Men and Their Work. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958. Especially pp. 56-67, 102-115, 157-168. Topic: Status traits and the career concept.

Martindale, Don, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1960. Topic: General sociological theory.

TEACHING METHODOLOGY - PART II

The instructor is advised briefly to discuss the practicum assignment suggested below, prior to covering any of the material in Part II.

It is recommended that the material in Part II be broken down into subsections for the purpose of allowing adequate discussion time for each subsection.

Subsection A

Defining Poverty - through Relative Deprivation

Subsection B

Factors Involved in Definitions of Poverty

Subsection C

Poverty as Social Deviance

Core Readings

In Blaustein and Woock, Man Against Poverty: World War III. New York: Random House, Inc., 1968:

Batchelder, Alan, "Poverty - The Special Case of the Negro," p. 66.

Clark, Joseph, "Starvation in the Affluent Society," p. 88.

The "Freedom Budget" in Brief, p. 171.

Harrington, Michael, "The Rejects," p. 62.

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 176.

POVERTY AS SOCIAL DEVIANCE - PART II

Defining Poverty

In discussing the impoverished, one of the greatest barriors to communication is the problem of defining precisely what is meant by poverty. There are two distinctly different ways in which poverty can be defined. The two may be considered opposite ends of a continuum.

1. A mathematical definition of poverty, which is based on the concept of identification of a specific income level or "line" below which people are said to be impoverished. The mathematical definition is useful in that it can be used to help assess what is needed to eliminate poverty, by comparing the absolute figure (poverty line) with the resources available to an individual, thus providing a mathematical ratio. The ratio is usually expressed in the formula of means to needs. This concept is one that has been used quite extensively by many social agencies in dealing with the impoverished. Its historical antecedents are found in the Elizabethian poor laws of 1601, upon which most of our current public welfare laws are based.

The concept used here is what is technically known as a means

test, which uses the ratio concept explained above. Give examples of the means test in operation in public welfare agencies, and the related "pauper's oath" or financial statement.

2. A second approach to defining poverty is one that is much more difficult to use, it is known as relative deprivation. This definition involves recognition that poverty is a concept which varies from time to place and varies in relation to what people expect for themselves and for other people. The concept is most commonly expressed in such terms as "minimal standards of health and decency." This concept must be contrasted with the concept of poverty on a continuum. At the one end of the continuum, poverty would imply death by starvation or exposure through lack of a minimal amount of food, clothing, and shelter necessary to sustain life. For example, in the great potato famine in Ireland during the nineteenth century, intense poverty killed thousands of families in a single decade. In India and Russia, until the twentieth century, poverty was a way of life for most people for hundreds of years. At the other end of the continuum, poverty may not mean biological inability to survive; but it may mean the lack of a share, however modest, in the goods socially defined as necessary for a "decent" level of living.

It is necessary to recognize the distinction between a person's level of living, which is set by his real income, and one's standard of living, which is the way one wants to live. The question of what is necessary for a subsistence level of living is so difficult to answer that it is very hard to define

poverty. What people regard as necessary varies from time to place.

In summary, the relative concept of poverty is one which recognizes poverty as a condition that is relative to each unique situation. To consider impoverishment as consisting of only deprivation of food and clothing, in a complex modern industrial society, is not to recognize the survival values of other socially determined "necessities" such as education, various kinds of job skills, a sense of psychological well being, and physical health.

Relative Deprivation

In order to explain the relative concept of poverty, it is necessary to review the concept of relative deprivation as developed by Stouffer, op. cit. This concept which seems to include such well-known sociological concepts as "social frame of reference," "patterns of expectation," or "definitions of the situation." The essential feature of the relative deprivation concept is the idea that what anyone person defines as deprivation for himself or for others depends on what he uses as a standard of comparison. Using the example developed by Stouffer of the World War II soldier, consider the case of the drafted married man and especially one who has children. He makes the same sacrifices as others who were drafted, plus the additional one of leaving his family behind. This additional sacrifice was officially recognized be draft boards, and eventually by the point system in the Army, which gave demobilization credit for fatherhood. Reluctance of married men to leave their families would

likely have been reinforced, in many instances, by extremely reluctant wives whose pressures on the husbands to seek deferment were not always easy to resist. The very fact that draft boards were more liberal with married than with single men, provided numerous examples to the drafted married men of others in his shoes who got relatively better breaks than he did.

Comparing himself with his unmarried associates in the Army, he could feel that induction demanded greater sacrifice from him than from them. In comparing himself with his married civilian friends, he could feel that he had been called on for sacrifices which they were escaping altogether. Hence, the married man, on the average, was more likely than others to come into the Army with reluctance and possibly a sense of injustice. Such feelings appear to be related to the amount of deprivation he saw himself as having experienced.

The relative deprivation concept can be related to other kinds of deprivation, including impoverishment. For example, a family living among other families who all have relatively new automobiles but who experience financial reverses to the point that they have to apply for welfare help. Upon applying for welfare, they learn that they have to give up their automobile and perhaps a television set. Such a family may feel a very real deprivation with respect to possession of goods that were normal for their level of living, for their neighbors, and for their associates. The act of giving up any of these items, which they are used to having and which they expect for themselves as normal, constitutes a deprivation.

The same relative definition of impoverishment could also be considered from the standpoint of a social audience, and conferred upon others by comparing what others have with what you expect as normal for yourself. Consider the concept of adequate medical, prenatal care, which is something that most middle-class Americans feel is normal and highly desirable for all pregnant mothers to experience. To consider a person who is unable to afford this care, then, is to be confronted by someone who is deprived of what is considered minimal health services.

Factors Involved in Definitions of Poverty

Among the most important of these factors are the following:

1. Size of family.
2. Location.
3. Sex of head of family.
4. Sex of the family members.
5. Age of family members.
6. Relative health of family members.

Current Definitions of Poverty in the United States

What we actually mean by poverty seems to have changed over the decades. It seems fair to say that as income per capita has risen through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, our estimate of the level of income which divides poverty from nonpoverty has also risen. The figure of $3,000 per year for family income or $1,500 for a single individual has had wide currency in the last several years. This figure was used by the Council of Economic

Advisors in the January 1964 Economic Report of the President. But not so long ago at the beginning of the 1950's, a poverty line of $2,000 was being used. In terms of the 1962 prices used by the Council of Economic Advisors, this would amount to an income of $2,300 to $2,500 a year depending upon the base year which we choose to measure the rise in prices which has occurred. Thus, just in the past two decades we seem to have raised the poverty line by some 20 to 30 percent, after allowance for the rise in the cost of living during this period. The Council of Economic Advisors offered the following definition: "By the poor, we mean those who are not now maintaining a decent standard of living, those whose basic needs exceed their means to satisfy them." The Council did recognize that these basic needs depend on many factors and are not the same for all families, although they did endorse the single standard of $3,000 per family.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare uses a more flexible standard, which takes into account variables such as age, location, health, etc. Their minimal family budgets range from a little over $1,100 for a farm family of two, age 65 and over, to over $6,000 for a nonfarm family of seven or more persons.

What is particularly striking is that the flexible poverty line yielded substantially the same estimate of the number of needy persons in 1963, which was estimated at 34.6 million, as did the single standard applied by the Council of Economic Advisors for the same year, which estimated the figure at

33.4 million. However, it should be recognized that there are significant differences in the composition of the poverty group according to the two estimates. In particular, the flexible standard gives lower estimates of the number of rural and aged poor, and substantially increases the estimated number of children in the poverty group. Whatever methods of estimation are used, most writers seem to agree that nearly a fifth of the American population is poverty stricken by the standards which we are inclined to use today, however much higher these standards may be than those which our parents or grandparents may have used.

Different authors have explored the question of where to draw the poverty line. Michael Harrington, one of the more outspoken critics of our society with respect to treatment of the impoverished, in his book, The Other America, op. cit., estimated a much higher percentage of the population as falling below the poverty line.

Using the criteria mentioned above, such as sex, age, location, etc., to establish relative poverty lines, the incidence of poverty appears to be heaviest among nonwhite families, with a very young head, also among the aged, broken families, very large families, families without a breadwinner, the unemployed, and families headed by farmers or unskilled laborers.

Families Who Fall Near the Poverty Line

As with any arbitrary definition, an absolute figure has its limitations in that the relative effects of earning $100 over

the poverty line may, in fact, make very little difference in the standard of living for a family earning $100 under the poverty line. Many families whose income is greater than the poverty line do suffer from deprivation. It seems important to distinguish between degrees of poverty. Dentler suggested that we can distinguish between three types of low income living (Dentler, op. cit., page 110).

1. Subsistence or modest but adequate.
2. Deprived or pinched.
3. Poor or impoverished.

In gross terms, even when all qualifications are considered, there is evidence that approximately 20 percent of the total population lives within each of these categories. Depending on where the ceilings are set, the groupings are fairly distinctive. That is, the subsistence group clusters at and just below the median annual income for the country. The deprived group falls in between subsistence and poverty. The impoverished make up a separate category, indicated by the plateau in the income curve that runs from $1,000 to about $3,000 a year for families. Reconsidering each of these three separate categories:

The subsistence category is one which, for the modern American urban family, means a life style of respectable, extremely cautious living. It is at variance with the themes emphasizing consumption that surround the family in its daily living in the city. Subsistence level is possibly frustrating or dulling. However, it is not disorganizing or threatening to life. The subsistence level

family threads a precarious line between meeting all of their obligations and having enough left over to do something extra. Anyone of a number of factors could reduce the subsistence level family to impoverishment in a relatively short time. Factors such as unwise money management, credit problems, alcoholism, chronic illness, and loss of employment are among the personal crises that could convert subsistence into deprivation and poverty. Large scale economic crises in the society may also have the same effect.

Contrast the subsistence level of living with the level of living for the two other categories, the deprived and the poor, just in terms of the amount per day spent on food. Average figures for family of four living in a large urban city as of 1960 compare as follows:

Subsistence Family	$160	Monthly Food Expenses
Deprived Family	106	Monthly Food Expenses
Impoverished Family	70	Monthly Food Expenses

Without high skill dietetic management, and skillful food management, hunger and malnutrition are almost inevitable at the poor level. Housing expenses are similar. It is obviously restricted also to slum tenements with crowding into two or three rooms.

Compare the subsistence family with poor family in terms of average monthly expenses.

Budget Estimates Comparing Average Monthly Expenses For:
Subsistence, Deprived, and Impoverished Families of Four Persons
(From Dentler, op. cit., page 111)

ITEM	SUBSISTENCE	DEPRIVED	IMPOVERISHED
Housing	136	90	54
Medical	32	21	20
Transportation	20	15	15
Clothing	48	32	32
Recreation, education, communication and tobacco	30	20	20

Poverty As Social Deviance

The impoverished share a special identity in American society. This unique identity is rooted in the historic and legal precedents of American life.

It should be especially clear at this point that to be impoverished, to experience impoverishment, means to be unsuccessful in our society. To be impoverished is the antithesis of success as described by the Protestant Ethic in our society. For years we have legally recognized the impoverished as a special category of people who somehow or other have contributed to their present condition. Their impoverishment has been variously regarded as the result of sin, bad genes, laziness, vice, alcohol, sex, or other personal defects. The societal counterpart to this individual

designation is the notion of poverty as caused by some single condition in the economic or political order, such as on unequal taxation, war, discrimination, or immigration.

It should be clear, however, that the impoverished have long been recognized as a special social class in our society with a relatively unique identity. This identity stems, at least, from the development and implementation of the Elizabethian poor laws of 1601. It is important to recognize the distinction between the impoverished who require public attention, that is, those who ask for public help, and the impoverished who sit around and quietly starve to death. For the most part, there is a clear difference in the amount of social stigma attached to public dependency as contrasted to dignified starving. The impoverished who come to public attention, that is, those who require attention of agencies of social control, are a separate category of persons who achieve a unique, distinct identity in our society. The uniqueness and distinctness of this identity is very clear and marked and helps to set the impoverished aside as a labeled person. In fact, the very components of the labeling process for the impoverished are clearly reminiscent of the labeling process involved in the identification of deviant populations.

Relate the steps involved in applying for and receiving either private or public assistance, including the means test and "pauper's oath," to the steps involved in the successful degradation ceremonies described in Part I.

1. The formal confrontation between the deviant suspect or the impoverished and the representatives of his community, in this case the welfare department. Relate this to the actual confrontation between the person applying for public assistance and the individuals operating the public assistance agency.

2. The announcement of a judgement about the nature of a deviancy. Compare the judgement to the placing of the welfare applicant into one of the existing categories of assistance. For example, an ADC applicant is now judged as eligible to receive ADC on a long term basis.

3. The act of social placement. This is a step which is not completed in all cases, however, it is an important step which does occur with some regularity. In the early development of poor laws, the impoverished were clearly assigned a special category by being placed in a poor house or an alms house of some kind. This constituted a clear act of social placement. However, with the abolition of outdoor relief, other forms of social placement have come to take the place of outdoor relief. Social placement is now accomplished by various kinds of public labeling procedures. Some examples of these procedures are:

   1. The welfare order. Explain what a welfare order is and how this may provide a public label for a welfare recipient. Review other forms of vendor payment.
   2. The food stamp program. Note the elements of public visibility.
   3. Public housing for the poor. Note the elements of public visibility.

As further evidence that the impoverished are indeed given a special identity and regarded as people who are somehow different, consider the relatively wide range of social institutions that have developed over the past several hundred years, whose specific purpose is to deal with the impoverished. This range of social institutions would include both public and private agencies set up primarily to help the poor. To a large extent, most agencies whose primary purpose is that of contacting the impoverished and dealing with them in their multiple problems, utilize some kind of screening procedure, which helps to separate the "worthy" from the "unworthy" poor. Philanthropic treatment has been largely dispensed on a preferential basis, provided primarily to persons who are most like the giver. Each social agency that engages in the poverty business makes a point of somehow attempting to isolate the impoverished in some way. Public welfare agencies, for years, have been utilizing the means test as a way of delineating between impoverished and nonimpoverished populations. Furthermore, they distinguished between the worthy and the unworthy by use of a category system. While this seems to be a common sense approach to provide assistance for only those who are in need and keep those who are not in need off of assistance, the process of identifying or categorizing actually helps to accomplish the labeling purpose. It should be obvious that in identifying a separate population of people who are somehow different, and who are regarded in many ways as the antithesis of success in our society, if successful labeling can be accomplished,

the end result is that those who have acquired the label are regarded as deviants.

Review the relative irreversibility of deviant status and the self-fulfilling prophecy and relate to the concept of generational poverty.

FIELD ASSIGNMENT AND PRACTICUM FOR CLASS MEMBERS

1. Construct a definition of poverty satisfactory to all the class members, considering other criteria in addition to income.

2. Utilize the above established definition to identify any group of impoverished persons living in your community, especially those with whom you may have some contact in your work.

After discussion sections, the practicum assignment should be discussed again. It may be possible to break the class down into small groups, each with the responsibility of developing a definition and applying the definition. If the class is not too large, it may be possible to assign the project to individual class members.

Approximately one to two weeks following the assignment of the above task, students responsible for the completion of the task should be required to present the definition and the rationale for the definition to the remainder of the class. Use the remainder of the class to critique. At least one full class period, or possibly more, should be utilized for consideration of the definitions developed by the student members of the class.

One week following the presentation of the definition,

students should be in a position to report on their findings in applying their definitions to their community. Either a portion of, or an entire class period, should be utilized for this presentation, including time for discussion.

Supplementary Readings

Bremmer, Robert H., From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States. New York: New York University Press, 1956.

Dentler, Robert A., Major American Social Problems. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1967. Especially pp. 106-140. Topic: definitions and estimates of poverty in the United States.

Harrington, Michael, The Other America: Poverty in the United States. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962.

Galbraith, John K., The Affluent Society. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968.

Gladiwin, Thomas, Poverty U.S.A., Boston: Little, Brown & Co., Inc., 1967.

Orshansky, Mollie, "Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View of Poverty," Social Security Bulletin; July 1965, pp. 3-32.

Stouffer, Samuel A., The American Soldier, Vols. I and II. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949. Especially pp. 125-130 - Vol. I. Topic: Relative deprivation.

TEACHING METHODOLOGY - PART III

1. Lecture

2. Group discussion of Part III as a whole.

3. Optional, depending upon the instructor's skill with role playing or psychodrama technique. Consider the meaning of impoverishment in terms of possible role performances of persons in different situations. Set up situations between:

   A. An impoverished mother meeting with a school teacher, principal, nurse, or counselor about problems with her child.

   B. An impoverished unemployed father, applying for welfare assistance.

   C. An impoverished mother applying for medical services, for one of her children who has a relatively minor, but chronic, physical condition, at a public health facility.

Procedure may include having the class critique the performances as they occur, or actually participate in the dramas.

SELECTED REFERENCES - PART III

Core Readings

Caplovitz, David, The Poor Pay More. New York: The Free Press, 1967. Especially pp. 1-57, 116-136. Topic: Money Management and related role problems of the poor.

Lewis, Oscar, Man Against Poverty: World War III. New York: Vantage Books, Random House, Inc., 1968. Especially pp. 260-275. Topic: The culture of poverty.

THE CULTURE OF POVERTY - PART III

Oscar Lewis and other anthropologists have attempted to view poverty from a different standpoint than explored above. The condition of impoverishment has largely been viewed as simply a matter of economic deprivation, or the absence of something. Contrary to this point of view, the culture of poverty idea is an approach to viewing poverty in terms of a unique culture. That is, it is viewed as something positive, something that provides some rewards, without which the poor could hardly carry on. Lewis views the culture of poverty as a unique subculture consisting of a way of life which is passed down from generation to generation, along family lines. The culture of poverty is seen as both an adaptation to a set of circumstances, and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class stratified, highly individualized, capitalistic society. It is not only an adaptation to a set of objective conditions of the larger society, but when it comes into existence it tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effect on children. Lewis suggests that by the time slum children reach the age of six or seven, they have usually absorbed

the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or modified opportunities which may occur in their lifetime. He suggests that the culture of poverty can develop in a variety of historical contexts, however, it tends to grow and flourish in societies with the following set of conditions:

1. A cash economy, wage labor, and production for profit.
2. A persistently high rate of unemployment and under-employment for unskilled laborers.
3. Low wages.
4. The failure to provide social, political, and economic organization either on a voluntary basis, or by government imposition, for low income population.
5. The existence of a bilateral kinship system rather than unilateral one.
6. The existence of a set of values in the dominant class which stresses the accumulation of wealth and property, the possibility of upward mobility and thrift, and explains low economic status as a result of personal inadequacy or inferiority.

Lewis defined a culture in terms of several variables. These variables include:

1. The relationship between the subculture and the larger society.
2. The nature of the slum community.
3. The nature of the family.

4. The attitudes, values, and character structure of the individuals.

Elaborate on each of these (reference, Lewis in Blaustein and Woock, op. cit., pp. 264-274).

Factors Contributing to the Maintenance of a Unique and Distinctly Different Culture or Deviant Identity for the Impoverished

As suggested in the culture of poverty point of view, one can view poverty as a way of life which is perpetuated beyond the life span of any one individual participating in it. It is something that seems to be passed on from generation to generation. Because the impoverished person seems to have a different life style, he bears the stigma of his low social and economic status by evidences such as his dress, his diet, and often his speech and job skills. Less may be expected of him than of other people in situations such as employment, recreation, and from his children at school. There are many features of living the life of an impoverished person that do obviously contribute to this self-fulfilling prophecy.

The Use of Income in the Impoverished Family

People do not very often realize that the really poor person has lower buying power than persons whose income is more adequate.

The poor person, by definition, generally has at most, only a small amount of money at any one time; and is frequently never sure that in the immediate future enough money will be available to cover even minimum needs. The poor person is generally forced

to spend whatever he has on the most urgent demands which arise each day; and, thus, he operates economically through a succession of very small deals. Instead of a weekly trip in a car to a supermarket, food must be typically bought by walking to a neighborhood store and buying only enough for the next meal or two. The size and the adequacy of the purchase and, therefore, of the meal to follow, depends on how much money can be scraped together on that particular day. Most people who provide consumer guides for low income families suggest that people shop carefully, compare prices, and buy the best quality foods for the lowest price. In order to do this effectively, one must be able to budget carefully, plan menus, and plan purchases in advance. However, each of these budgeting rules, although they seem thoroughly rational and sensible, are, in fact, difficult or almost impossible for the person to follow, when one has a very small and uncertain income.

There are two economic principles which should be kept in mind when considering the plight of the poor. The first of these principles is a central one to most commercial transactions in any free economy; namely, that <u>the larger the deal, the better the terms</u>. At the upper end of the scale, stands a man about whom you so often hear, who says, "I can get it for you wholesale." However, very little attention is focused on the other end of the scale, where the principle inevitably becomes the converse; that is, <u>the smaller the deal, the worse the terms</u>. Even such simple transactions as riding a bus ordinarily costs more when one purchases tokens one at a time.

The neighborhood store whose daily volume is usually very small, deals in very small transactions. Such an operation requires a much larger mark-up, in order to pay the rent, the overhead, and the wages of a full-time clerk. Consequently, the prices are generally higher for food items in small neighborhood stores. It is obvious that in order to be able to buy in large lots, it is necessary to have adequate storage facilities. Just consider the expenditures required to provide adequate storage facilities for food. One major item such as a refrigerator, typically, will only provide limited storage facilities if it is an inexpensive unit which does not contain a large freezer compartment.

A second major principle is the need in many kinds of transactions to be able to rely on substantial financial resources before entering into any kind of deal at all. Sometimes this takes the form of a requirement for actual cash, such as in the down payment on an automobile or the deposit required for a telephone. Because they are unable to assemble the necessary amounts of cash at one time, persons who could afford the monthly charges for telephone services or the monthly payments for a fairly good car, are often denied these facilities. Yet, these facilities are often critical for effective accumulation within the larger commercial world. Both a telephone and a car are essential in applying for and obtaining a job, finding out and capitalizing on sales, and other sources of bargains, or obtaining medical and other services without wasting a good part of the day on them.

The resources necessary to get a transaction under way need not take the form of cash. An acceptable alternative is to obtain credit at a reasonable cost. However, this can usually only be achieved through already having substantial assets that are convertible into cash, or by having someone else prepared to guarantee repayment of the loan if it is defaulted. Therefore, poor people who have to buy something of considerable cost must either do so on credit, which has very high interest rates, and must face the constant threat of repossession, or get it dishonestly, or else do without. Just the simple act of obtaining a mortgage is frequently impossible for most really poor people. This inability results in paying rent at a much higher level than mortgage payments, in return for which there is, instead of a growing equity, only the prospect of a lifetime of shabby accommodations.

Another category of services which could be consumed if cash or credit were available in some quantity, is that of professional services, especially legal and medical services. Some effort is made to provide both of these for poor people through governmental programs, but they are usually poor in quality, limited in scope, and obtained through the exercise of patience and persistence. Outside of criminal cases, legal services are virtually unavailable to a poor person, who, for example, may wish to sue for damages or to recover something which he believes was taken from him by fraud. Poor persons typically almost never enter into such negotiations.

With respect to health, the miserable and humiliating medical care with which poor people are confronted is too well-known to require comment other than the observation that health care for the poor is primarily crisis-oriented and after the fact, in contrast to preventative health care.

Summarize this section by comparing the relative buying power of a poor family with no other resources and a middle-class family with adequate resources for the expenditure of the same amount of money. Compare such concrete items as food storage facilities; interest rates; rent vs. mortgage payments; expense of maintaining a used, decrepit automobile in contrast to a relatively newer, trouble-free automobile, etc.

The Impact of an Impoverished Life Style on the Development of Competency

There appears to be a cause and effect relationship between the impoverished life style and the self-sustaining poverty cycle with regard to the different ways of functioning; especially apparent is the pattern of discrimination directed toward the impoverished in terms of negative expectations based on unfavorable stereotypes.

As related in the section on deviant behavior theory, the process of becoming identified as an impoverished person is a process which appears to transform the person from one role in a society, that of a normal person, to a deviant role. A further distinction is necessary at this point because it must be recognized that the deviant role, by definition, is a socially sanctioned role.

Briefly reviewing deviant behavior theory, one must recognize that being labeled in itself has an enormous effect. The crux of the matter, conceptually, is that while some specific aspect of the person's behavior leads to labeling, in practice it is the total person who is labeled, and who is then reacted to in terms of this label. The difference in behavior of other people toward him makes it possible for him to assume some roles, and emit some behaviors that will be socially reinforced. But, it also makes it more difficult for him to emit and be reinforced socially for other behaviors.

To return to the process of legitimatizing the deviant role, it is important to recognize that the deviant role of being an impoverished person appears to be a role that is a learned social act, dependent upon the responses of other people, just as it is important to recognize that the people who do not break the rules or who do not behave in a deviant manner, end up by supporting the deviant. To elaborate this point, consider the point of view that agencies set up to deal with deviants, that is, public welfare agencies, private social agencies, rehabilation agencies, and so on, literally depend on a population of impoverished, much as school teachers depend upon a population of students for their very existence. It is not too much to say that the development of an impoverished life style is possible only because there are more or less well organized and recognized agencies that live off, and depend upon, the profit-making opportunities which the impoverished person supplies. Some of

the persons who legitimatize this role, and who end up teaching the impoverished role are the social agency professionals.

Consider, for example, the process of obtaining the benefits of being an impoverished person in our society. The impoverished person must present himself in a manner that is recognized by the culture as being impoverished. The public idea of the impoverished includes such secondary status traits associated with poverty as humility, helplessness, general incompetence, limited ability to verbalize, limited intellectual capacity, sexual promiscuity, poor judgement, irrational behavior, and some inability to delay gratification. The person who does "well" in all of these categories of behaviors and provides a public performance of his incompetencies, in specific situations, such as performing before an audience of welfare workers, is precisely the person who receives maximum rewards through our existing welfare system. The person who does not hold all these characteristics, who displays independence, etc., is the one who is treated the most poorly by agents of social control. Indeed, if the person is going to receive maximum rewards from the existing system, he must learn the role of the impoverished. Learning the role is partially accomplished by the differential responses of the social service professionals providing services to the impoverished.

One should also note that falsely enacting an impoverished role is behavior that is considered very bad. Indeed, the person who falsely enacts an impoverished role is guilty of a type of deviance that is everywhere regarded with extreme disfavor. This is regarded as a flagrant violation of trust. (For further

consideration of the conditions which shape the professional as an agent who is propagating the impoverished life style, see Cohen, A. K., op. cit.)

It is important to recognize that there are a number of other features in the impoverished life style which may help to sustain the culture. Consider, for example, what it means to live in a poor neighborhood. It means going to a second-rate school, which means having an inadequate education, which means having a low-paying job, or no job at all, and thus being poor. Or, being poor means eating poor food, and living in unsanitary housing, and perhaps being handicapped, or not strong enough to handle the heavy manual work which is often the only kind available, thus being unemployed much of the time and so being poor. Being poor also means realizing that most of the other people in the world are more successful and are able to do things about which the poor person can scarcely even dream. It means that the poor person may see himself as a failure, which means he has no confidence and gives up easily, or perhaps does not push himself at all and thus stays poor. All of these cycles begin and end with being poor. There are many more like them, each loaded with more misery than the last. Because these sequences of cause and effect seem to repeat themselves endlessly, generation after generation, the life of poverty is sometimes described as a culture, or more precisely a subculture with all of the implications of a self-contained, self-perpetuating cultural system.

Adaptation to the reality of being poor calls for a set of behaviors and a way of handling human relationships which will provide maximum reinforcement for the individual. With not enough money to meet daily needs, to say nothing of coping with the unexpected, with little or no power to influence people who own or control the important things of life, with a poor education and with a poor understanding of the working of the larger world, under all these circumstances, it makes no sense to develop the special capacity to plan ahead for a future that one cannot control or even conceive of controlling. Nor does it make any sense to save for tomorrow, a pleasure, or a dollar, which someone might snatch away from you tonight. Under these circumstances, a poor person is unlikely to develop the habits of thrift, honesty, self-discipline, or deferment of gratification, when these features do not bring maximum rewards within his environment. Furthermore, it is easy to identify the person who is impoverished. Typically, his vocabulary is not adequate because of his limited educational background. His clothing is obvious, he may smell because there is no bath tub or hot water available, he may have bad teeth, and weak eyes, because of a lack of adequate medical care, and show up late for appointments and work because the alarm clock is old and broken or the bus is the only available transportation. Once his identity is established, people come to expect and anticipate his limitations, thus reaffirming all of the beliefs they may have held about the impoverished.

To Be Impoverished Means To Be Incompetent

The familiar arguments regarding educational and social competencies and related occupational and social opportunities for various kinds of mobility are too well known to reiterate. One should recognize that there are a number of programs, educational in nature, that have been developed primarily with the goal of teaching people somehow to break the self-sustaining impoverished life style previously discussed. Basically, the idea is that if the cycle is to be broken, poor people must, among other things, be taught new and more effective ways of functioning. Broadly speaking, these educational programs fall into three general types:

1. First there are a series of programs concerned with occupational training. Although all of these undertake to teach specific job skills, many of them go well beyond this limited objective in an effort to create more appropriate motivation, self-awareness, and to train for the complex and often intangible impersonal skills which are so essential in obtaining and holding a good job. Many of these programs are highly sophisticated and range from formal training facilities such as job corps centers, to a variety of apprentice and similar on-the-job training programs.

2. The second type of program is aimed at the goal of developing social competence and it emphasizes the achievement of more formal educational goals. Some are directed entirely toward academic achievement and related mobility through the

educational institutions. One of the best known programs among this type, is Project Head Start which focuses on the preschool level child. There are a number of others operating mostly within school systems, which are intended both to enhance existing performance at all levels and to recapture and rehabilitate academic failures. A number of programs in adult education can be included in this area too. Often, educational activities for adolescents and adults are combined with the occupational and social training programs described, as for example, in the job corps, in work study programs, and in other similar programs.

3. A third rather specialized type of program utilizes and trains people who are themselves poor, to work in subprofessional or paraprofessional roles with other poor people in urban ghettos. These so-called indigenous workers are expected to make a contribution to achievement of the objectives of the agencies which hire them but they are also expected to be able to capitalize upon their experience for their own self-improvement (for further reference see Pearl and Riessman, op. cit.). (See also Shotsman and Stous, "Social Class and Modes of Communication," American Journal of Sociology, January 1955, pp. 329-338.)

Rebuttal and Critique of Poverty Subculture Concept

Some writers have challenged the validity of the poverty subculture theory. Charles A. Valentine is one who suggested that "analysis in terms of the culture of poverty may distract our attention from critical structural characteristics of the stratified social system as a whole, and focus it instead on

alleged motivation peculiarities of the poor that are of doubtless validity or relevance" (Valentine, op. cit., p. 17).

Valentine's comments do not suggest that a valid culture of poverty theory is impossible, but rather that it must be carefully approached. He suggests some cautions in ascribing a culture to patterns of behavior by groups of people.

These suggested cautions include the following three areas:

1. Cultural patterns of behavior and social statistics may appear to be correlated when they are not; for example, census figures showing large numbers of households without fathers provide no clues as to the culturally ascribed arrangements of the society concerning fathers in the home.

2. The avowed values and ideals of the society are not necessarily those that are actually practiced. Some recent social research indicates that traditional American ideals of marriage do not often correlate with actual marriage maintenance patterns.

3. It seems likely that the way people have to live is not necessarily a reflection of their real values, and thus the way that they want to live. This suggests that some impoverished people may be performing in a poverty culture manner as a result of circumstnaces rather than values.

Relate the above comments to facts and fictions about the supposed Negro subculture (reference material--Herzog, Elizabeth, op. cit.).

Supplementary Readings

Cohen, A. K., Deviance and Control. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966. Especia-ly pp. 102-106.

Topic: The professional as a teacher of deviant life styles.

Herzog, Elizabeth, About the Poor: Some Facts and Some Fictions. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, Children's Bureau Publication #431-1967.

Pearl and Riessman, New Careers for the Poor. New York: The Free Press, 1965.

Rainwater, Lee, "Personality Differences Between Middle and Lower Class Adolescents." Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1956, p. 72.

Riessman, Frank, The Culturally Deprived Child. New York: Harper Brothers, 1962.

Shotsman and Stous, "Social Class and Modes of Communication," American Journal of Sociology, January 1955, p. 329.

Valentine, Charles A., Culture and Poverty. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

AUDIO-VISUAL AIDES

Suggested Films

And So They Live. Published by New York University, New York City, New York. Thirty minutes, black and white. Film depicts tragic poverty in a rural southern community. Lack of proper diet, housing, and sanitation, need for school program adapted to the problems of the community.

One Tenth of our Nation. International Film Bureau, Suite 308, 316 - 57 St. E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Illinois. Twenty-six minutes, black and white. Film of the education of Negro children in the rural south, from one room shacks to high schools and colleges.

The Last of the Hyphenated Americans. University of Colorado Extension Division, Boulder, Colorado, 56 minutes. An excellent film describing the plight of the Spanish-American in Denver. Very well done and technically excellent quality--both audio and visual qualities are first rate.

TEACHING METHODOLOGY - PART IV

Lecture - Followed By Group Discussion

Discussion topics: Identify and discuss existing change strategies within your community in terms of the typology presented in Part IV. Discuss in detail how they operate. What are the advantages and limitations of existing approaches utilized by agencies in your community, such as public welfare, OEO programs, and school sponsored or associated programs?

Core Readings

Blaustin and Woock, Man Against Poverty: World War III. New York: Random House, Inc., 1968. The following articles:

"The Triple Revolution," p. 161

"The Freedom Budget in Brief," p. 171

"Social Action Programs in Urban Renewal," p. 204

"Poverty in New Careers for Nonprofessionals," p. 216

"A Strategy to End Poverty," p. 228

"Community Operated Schools: A Way Out," p. 246

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SOLUTIONS - PART IV

Change Strategies

A number of different strategies directed toward the goal of reducing the impact of impoverishment on both the impoverished and their parent society have developed over the years. These different approaches can be viewed within the framework of deviant behavior theory as developed above. The strategies differ in the respect that they may be classified by "target populations." Three different change strategies are:

1. Changes directed at the individual impoverished person.
2. Changes directed at the social structure in which the impoverished person lives. (Include small groups and complex organizations.)
3. A combination of both changes in the individual, and in the social structure. The main target area change consists of the boundaries of existing social institutions, the same boundaries that control movement from deviant to nondeviant status.

Changes in the Impoverished Individual

This is an approach which is based on the underlying assumption

that the impoverished individual is somehow faulty, inadequate, or incomplete, and that his impoverished condition can be reduced by changes which are directed at making up any existing deficit that he may have, or in some way providing the missing parts which would tend to make him complete. This is a general strategy which may have different effects for various persons who are either impoverished, or potentially impoverished. It is important to consider the underlying assumptions of this general approach within the context of a consistent theoretical point of view; that is, it may be possible for a person to reenter a social system as a nondeviant in the event that he has not been successfully labeled or identified as a deviant. Assuming the validity of the theory, only those who escaped the labeling process would benefit from this approach.

The individual change approach may be broadly conceptualized as consisting of efforts from two major methodological approaches:

A. Education. Education appears to be by far the most appealing strategy of change in terms of its historical and social perspectives. The educational approach operates on the assumption that in order to operate effectively in a society, a person must be prepared to assume and fulfill a number of different roles. Without adequate training as part of their preparation for role assumption, persons are deficient and cannot fully participate in the parent culture. Education has been broken down into a number of different specializations, each of which are directed at the preparation of persons for various roles and subroles

within the society. Thus, we have specialized types of education, such as vocational education, as well as general education for total citizen participation. The educational approach is based on the further assumption that men are guided by reason, and that they will utilize some rational system of calculus in which they determine needed changes in accord with their self-interest. From this point of view, the chief foes of human rationality, and to changes based on rational processes, are ignorance and superstition. Scientific investigation, research, and exposure to such findings as may result, represent the chief ways of extending knowledge and reducing the limitations of ignorance.

Educational approaches have varied from time to place and have included such innovative ideas as preventive education as exemplified by the Head Start program. Another approach is one which is designed to supplement existing educational and social deficits, primarily directed at the development of minimal occupational and social skills. This is a supplementary type of education designed to move a person out of a situation of impoverishment and into a nondeviant role in the society by providing the person with what are assumed to be the minimal skills necessary to accomplish this move.

The major limitations of the educational approach when taken by itself lie in the determination of whether or not the participating impoverished individual is already identified as a deviant by other persons in his environment. To the extent that his role as a deviant is nonreversible in terms of other

person's definitions of his position in the culture, education may be ineffective in producing the desired changes, because although the changes may be effectively produced in the individual, his potential participation in the total parent culture in a nondeviant role may be restricted because of the pre-existent stereotyped views about his deviant position.

B. Psychotherapy and Counseling. This approach is very similar to education, in that many of the underlying assumptions are basically the same. The major difference from the education approach lies in the strategies and implementation. The psychotherapy or counseling approach, rests on the underlying assumption that the individual deviant or impoverished person is the way he is because of some kind of existing pathology; in other words, there is something wrong with him, with the way he operates. The goal of this particular approach, then, is to modify the behavior and perhaps the thoughts of the individual in such a way that the pathological condition is corrected. The further assumption is that once the underlying pathology is corrected, a person is then free to participate fully in the parent culture. For example, the impoverished man who has had difficulty in holding a job may be regarded as a person whose difficulty in holding and sustaining a job may be due to improper motivation. The psychotherapy process is directed at the goal of modifying his motivational base for participation in various kinds of activities such as work. If successful, the pathological condition of "poor-motivation" can be corrected and the assumption is that the person will then participate in job-finding and job-sustaining activities.

Again the same limitations that are apparent with regard to the educational model are also true for the psychotherapy model in addition to others; that is, consider a person who has already achieved an identity as a deviant; in the event that his deviant identity is irreversible, he may be unable to get a job because of the way in which he is viewed by other persons. Second, it is conceivable that the motivational problem which exists is an effect rather than a cause of his difficulty in securing jobs; it may well be a result of a general social condition, such as an economic depression.

Changes in the Society

Strategies directed at producing changes in the social structure in which the impoverished participate are difficult precisely to identify. This difficulty lies in the relatively undeveloped state of modern sociology with regard to any real agreement about what essentially constitutes social change. Inasmuch as a society was partially defined as a self-sustaining system of behaviors organized around a particular set of values, then for our purposes social change can be thought of as consisting of changes in social behaviors that reflect changes in the dominant social values. For example, if the society revolves around the basic dominant value of independence, especially financial independence, and degrades anyone who is not financially independent, then any change in the behaviors of that society which indicate that it is acceptable for some persons

to be financially dependent without the related degradation would reflect a basic social change.

Efforts toward the production of social change have taken two different directions:

A. The development of divergent and specialized social welfare programs, each designed with the ultimate purpose of reducing a specific social problem. That is, social welfare programs, or programs of social service, have been developed in our society in response to concerns about separate social problems, such as problems dealing with children, problems dealing with the aged, problems dealing with people who have broken the law, problems dealing with children who have educational difficulties, etc.

These programs are also limited, from a sociological perspective; each of these specialized agencies of social control, under the general auspices of the social welfare "system" have provided a way of legitimatizing the role of deviance; that is, these agencies provide a way of socially recognizing certain kinds of deviant behavior as being "deserving" of specific kinds of services. One of the sociological effects of such specialized services is to isolate and identify specific kinds of "worthy" deviants. Other limitations, aside from labeling, include the relative inefficiency of services, especially through the overlapping of services.

Essentially, the social welfare gamut of programs includes a combination of approaches characteristic of all three of the

different change strategies, including programs directed at changing the society, and a combination of both of these.

B. Income maintenance programs. While income maintenance programs are sometimes classified as a subcategory of social welfare programs, when viewed from the prospective of their income maintenance function only, they are clearly and distinctly unique in that they are directed towards the modification of some basic values existing within the American value structure, and, as such, they are directed at producing social change. For our purposes, they are being considered as a separate category of social change strategies. Alvin L. Schoor (op. cit.) has identified six distinct types of income maintenance programs.

1. Public Assistance. This is an income maintenance program with which we are most familiar, and, although it has many differences in terms of the way in which it is operated in different parts of the country, there are some features of public assistance programs which remain constant throughout the system. Public assistance, as defined here, consists of the income maintenance program administered by welfare departments. Its essential features include: (1) a means test; (2) a division of clients into categories to determine who is eligible for assistance and on what basis; categories include the four basic categories under the Social Security Program, such as aid to the blind, aid to the disabled, aid to dependent children, and old age assistance; it includes the local category of general assistance, which may be broken down into a catch-all category

of permanently impoverished who are ineligible for other programs and temporary assistance programs for transients; (3) such programs are generally locally administered and controlled.

Public assistance as it currently operates, has proved to be a degrading experience for many applicants. In virtually all cases in which public assistance is utilized, the payment level at which assistance is provided is so low that many people are not helped to avoid the problem of poverty; merely the problem of immediate starvation is avoided. Virtually no recipient receives help at a level that avoids poverty. Schorr (op. cit) estimates that only one poor person in four receives help from public assistance at any given time. The fact is that the public assistance programs, as they are operated currently, are based on the reasoning, values, and concepts contained in the Elizabethian poor laws of 1601, and have not undergone any substantial changes since the original poor laws were developed in England. By and large, it is a costly, inefficient program to operate and for the most part it does not do the job. That is, it does not reduce, abolish, or eliminate poverty, in fact, there is some evidence that public assistance as it is currently administered, tends to perpetuate the cycle of poverty as is evidenced by families who remain on the welfare assistance roles for several generations. Furthermore, it is obvious that public assistance has done a great deal to perpetuate the labeling process.

2. In Kind Programs. A second kind of program that is

currently enjoying a renewal of popularity, is the provision of services or goods in kind. Recent examples are medicare, food stamps, and rent subsidies. In kind programs may represent a public conviction that the beneficiaries are not to be trusted to manage their own funds, a view that certainly went into the development of the food stamp program. The in kind programs actually have several rather severe limitations in that (a) they do not reach all the impoverished, and to the extent do not do the job; (b) they operate on the assumption that individuals are not capable of managing for themselves, and (c) they contribute to the labeling process of the impoverished by clearly identifying them as deviants. Consider, for example, the public announcement of impoverishment involved in presenting food stamps at a public place such as a grocery store.

3. Social Insurance. The Social Security Program, or social insurance program, in this country, is a program that operates on the principle of providing benefits for a stipulated risk in exchange for regular payment during one's work life. This program is categorical; that is, it is limited to the aged, the disabled, the orphaned, and those who are directly tied to work. This is one program that has a very distinct advantage over the others in that providing payment to everyone who has met the basic requirements for participation in the system, the payment is regarded as a matter of right, and subsequently does not result in the identification of the recipient as a deviant. Thus, everyone agrees in this country that it is an honorable thing to accept

Social Security payments because you worked for them. In fact, however, Social Security payments do not provide an adequate base for the really poor who have no other resources. In this sense, it does not reduce poverty for those who are already poor. It would be possible to correct this limitation by providing a minimum payment, under Social Security, that would move people above the poverty line. It would also be necessary to expand coverage to categories of the population currently not included. Under the broad category of social insurance, one should also include unemployment service insurance. This again suffers the same limitations as the Social Security Program and it should be mentioned that benefit levels again are inadequate. Coverage should be improved and the period over which payments may be made should be lengthened.

4. and 5. Negative Income Tax and Guaranteed Annual Income

The negative income tax and guaranteed annual income proposals are both forms of a universal payment plan which would guarantee a minimal income level for all persons in the society. In general, these and other income maintenance proposals guarantee a certain level of income available to citizens through some form of federal subsidy.

The Negative Income Tax idea is based on the notion that a standard income level would be determined at which there would be a break-even level where there would be neither taxes paid or subsidies added. Below this level there would be subsidies given on the basis of income and family size. The negative tax above

this level--taxes as they are now--would be paid on the basis of income and family size, or the positive tax. The amount of income deficiency is the base for calculating the federal subsidy for the negative tax. This aspect involves what is called the work-incentive feature of the tax. The feature which all the proposals contain as a device to encourage employment and work.

The Guaranteed Annual Income Program

This is a program of income maintenance based on the assumption that a minimal income level should be regarded as an absolute right of all citizens, that that level should be high enough for both a healthful and decent standard of living (Edward Schwartz, "A Way to End the Means Test," Social Work, Volume IX, July 1964, pp. 3-12). Schwartz proposed that the figure of $3200 for example, should represent the minimal income for a family of four based on current poverty standards at the time his proposal was submitted. The cost of implementation of Mr. Schwartz's proposal was estimated to run about $38 billion.

A more elaborate example of a guaranteed annual income program was that proposed by the Ripon Society, ("The Negative Income Tax: A Republican Proposal to Help the Poor," Ripon Forum, April 10, 1967, inserted by Representative Charles W. Whalen in The House Congressional Record, Daily Edition, Vol. 113, May 4, 1967, H5098-85102). The Ripon Society proposed a negative income tax form of guaranteed annual income equal to 50% of the family's income. This proposal would set up an income standard

which would allow $1500 for each adult and the first child. $1000 for the second child, $600 for the third child, $400 for the fourth, with a $6000 limit per family. Thus, a family of four with no income, would receive $2750. The cost for the proposal of the Ripon Society is estimated to be around $10 to $12 billion.

Many writers urge a form of guaranteed annual income through the negative income tax approach because it is seen primarily as an incentive for self-betterment by encouraging wage earnings. This is in contrast to the present welfare system which critics claim promotes bondage to the system by deducting 100% of every dollar earned from supplements. In summary form, six specific advantages to the negative income tax form of guaranteed annual income may be enumerated.

(a) It would help the poor directly.

(b) It would treat them as responsible individuals, not as incompetent wards of the state.

(c) It gives them an incentive to help themselves.

(d) It would cost less than the present system, yet help more.

(e) It would eliminate the cumbersome welfare bureaucracy running the present program.

(f) It could not be used as a political slush-fund as many current programs are.

There are also several limitations with regard to the negative income tax form of guaranteed annual income as present in some of the existing proposals.

(a) Most critics agree that the minimal levels of income proposals are too low. The uniformed standards proposed by the Federal government would not be suitable for all areas of the country, and would require some kind of state subsidy.

(b) The poor need regular assistance, they cannot wait until the end of the year. Unless arrangements were made then for subsidies to be paid on an advanced or regular monthly basis, the poor would really not profit from this program.

6. Partial Universal Payment. It seems unlikely that the concept of universal payment is one that will be entirely accepted in the near future in this country. It is obvious that if this concept were entirely adopted and provided enough money for a decent standard of living, it would bring about a sweeping redistribution of income in the United States. While it seems unlikely that we will have a universal payment in the very near future, some form of partial payment to specific population groups does seem possible. This would be a payment without income test or any qualifying test other than age. Two candidates for such a program that readily come to mind are the aged and children. Currently we have, in fact, already opted for a partial payment program in proposing that the Social Security Program be changed to accommodate all persons over the age of 72.

The critical group that has been omitted in our system of income maintenance, however, is children. A partial payment program for children, that is, a "children's allowance" might correct this long-standing oversight. In a number of other

countries, people have for years utilized some form of children's allowance, variously called "children's allowance" or "family allowance." Currently, approximately 70 countries around the world utilize some form of partial payment for children or families. The program operates on the principle that all children residing within the society are eligible for an allowance regardless of need. The allowance is regarded as a matter of right, and is available for all those who take the trouble to apply. For example, in England the children's allowance system is operated by the post office department.

Various arguments have been advanced that a children's allowance program would increase the birthrate. However, despite the fact that children's allowance programs have been in effect in different countries for over 50 years, according to Schorr, there is no evidence that children's allowances do affect the birthrate. One of the attractive features of the children's allowance program is that a children's allowance of $50 a month per child, on the basis of current prices and income, would take three out of four poor children beyond the reach of poverty. Moreover, a family income is generally pooled and a child may exit from poverty only when his whole family avoids it. Although this program has some limitations, it does avoid the labeling process and it does have the advantage of reaching a substantial proportion of those currently poor. It is limited because in its proposed form, it would not provide for <u>all</u> of the poor.

Power Groups

Various citizen groups have recently sought to use power to correct what they perceive to be a social problem or to gain benefits for a special disadvantaged group, such as the poor, and the racial minorities. Generally, they have sought to work in two ways: (1) through the legal processes within the sanctioned systems of government, such as the civil rights movement and the environmentalists groups; (2) through extra-legal or nontraditional ways like protesting, rioting and other means. Examples of these groups are some Black and Red militant organizations and student protesters.

A basic rationale of both kinds of groups is that "the establishment," or those currently empowered in industry and government, will not act to correct social ills or help disadvantaged groups, if such changes result in any real or perceived loss of power or money for those empowered.

Basic to the support of the notion is the belief that a "power elite" (Mills, The Power Elite) exists, consisting of top military, governmental, and corporate executive leaders who actually make the major decisions and guide the political destiny of America. An attendant notion is that because of the pervasive control of the "power elite," the voter-citizen actually has little or no power without militating and demanding it.

Because the activities of citizen groups to gain and use power in this fashion are relatively new, there is little information available to judge their effectiveness towards producing change.

There are emerging, however, some strategies and techniques which these groups believe to be effective:

1. Power - Efforts must be directed towards gaining money, political influence, and information.

2. Visibility - A relatively small number of people can create a lot of attention by marches, protests, etc., and then use the news media to "advertise" the cause.

3. Confrontation - Used selectively and skillfully, militant groups can engage in angry, scatological confrontation with governmental and organizational leaders with some success. A key factor is that the established leaders are mainly orderly middle class people who are made uncomfortable by angry interchanges between groups of people.

4. Guilt and Fear - Some groups, especially the poor and racial minorities, play upon the guilt and fear of disruption that the dominant middle class members may feel about the group involved.

5. Reciprocation - Sometimes groups agree to stop harassing, protesting against or embarrassing empowered leaders in return for gaining some or all of their demands. This has been a frequent strategy between student militants and college presidents and deans.

6. Coalitions - Two or more groups may combine forces around a particular cause in order to pool manpower, money, and other resources.

It should be emphasized that militant activities on the part of citizens is not really new in America. The Boston Tea Party,

Whiskey rebellion, and Veteran's March of 1934, are only more prominent examples. The question is not whether militance and protest are good or bad, but rather under what conditions they may be justified and whether or not they are effective for social change.

Protest and militance may be interpreted as attempts to reduce deviant status traits and behavioral expectations. The Negro civil rights movement and the Black militant groups are changing the notion of the dominant society that Negroes are weak, complacent, and satisfied with their lot.

Combinations of Strategies Directed to Both Individual and Social Change

This general strategy or combination of strategies is focused on the boundary area of social institutions. This is the point at which the boundaries of existing social institutions meet deviant populations. For the purpose of illustration, it may be possible to portray a social institution as consisting of a discrete boundary, or line, which marks the limits of normality or what is regarded as acceptable behavior within the institution. Such a line helps to identify those who belong as contrasted to those who do not. Relying on the model of deviant behavior theory as developed above, it is obvious that one of the most distinct possibilities for reducing deviant populations is the allowance of easy passage between deviant and nondeviant positions within the social structure. In effect, this process would be analogous to providing channels or breaks in the institutional boundaries

that would allow for passage <u>in</u> as well as passage <u>out</u>. We have already examined in detail how the person passes <u>out</u> from a nondeviant to a deviant position. It may well be possible to reverse this process by providing a new master status trait of nondeviant for persons previously labeled as deviant. In its simplest form, this process could be accomplished by the achievement of a new identity for a person. Thus, for example, a person previously labeled as a criminal in one community but who subsequently underwent an effective rehabilitation process might be reintroduced into an entirely new community without the stigma of his past following him. This person would then be given a chance at a new life. Although this example raises some strong moral and ethical considerations, it does introduce the principle of a possible reversal of the deviant identification process.

Currently such a system is in operation in our society, especially in the juvenile courts. Juvenile courts or family courts have long provided for two methods of handling cases. One, of course, is the formal method, which involves the actual confrontation plus possibly a successful degradation ceremony including the maintenance of a permanent record. The second approach is an informal process which involves a closed hearing and the maintenance of a temporary set of records which are later destroyed. The confidential nature of the material is usually guaranteed as is the identity of the accused deviant.

This is a process that may have some possibilities for solution aimed at reduction of deviance in that it provides for

a temporary deviant status not apparent to the general public, but to select members of social control agencies. In the event that a successful "rehabilitative" process occurs, the deviant who is temporarily labeled as deviant is allowed to pass back into the social structure without a deviant identity.

The trouble-shooting approach. A second approach which combines the individual and social change strategies is one that has been utilized by social workers for years. It involves a process of assessment of individual needs and problems, and the confrontation of the social structure or agencies of the society to provide more effectively for these needs. For example, consider the case of a school child who is expelled from school for specific behavioral problems. To change the behavior of such a child is not enough. Once his behavioral problems are corrected, or possibly in order to correct his problems, it may be necessary for him to gain readmission to the schools. The actual reentry process may be accomplished by simply holding a case conference with school officials on behalf of the child and requesting admission on the basis of a thrid party's assurance that the deviant behavior has been reduced or can be reduced. This method is sometimes effective if the total labeling process has not been completed.

An approach similar to this has been developed by the Ombudsman in Sweden whose specific function is to reduce bureaucratic inefficiency in governmental social agencies in that country. In the event that a particular person is dissatisfied with the services he is receiving from agencies of social control,

he may approach an Ombudsman and ask for an investigation. The investigation may result in the reclassification of the person from a deviant to a nondeviant status by changing the rules that exist within the operation of a bureaucracy to provide for the person in a nondeviant manner.

A third and more general approach to this combined strategy could be labeled a communications approach. The general communications, or semantic, approach is one that is based on the underlying assumption that confusion exists between individuals and social systems because they are not effectively communicating. The idea is that if people can see more correctly, communicate more adequately, and reason more effectively, they will be able to lay a realistic common basis for action and changing. This approach may be exemplified by the various strategies employed by the general semantics movements toward social dialogue and also would encompass the various T group and sensitivity training approaches.

Supplementary Readings

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TEACHING METHODOLOGY - PART V

It may be appropriate to introduce this assignment at the very beginning of the course, and relate to the students that they will be expected to put their knowledge to work on this particular project. In this way, students may be permitted the opportunity of making a beginning on their project very early in the academic period.

There are several different methods by which this phase of the course may be accomplished: (a) Students may elect to tackle such problems as individuals and develop individual papers as their approach to completion of the assignment; (b) Another approach would be to utilize indigenous groupings of students; that is, if there may be several students in the class who are employed in the same school or social agency, it might be appropriate for them to take on the same project as a small group; it may also be feasible to have small groups of students who are not necessarily working in the same agency agree to work on the same problem from the perspective of several different agencies.

Students should be expected to report to the entire class the results of their project. The class is to participate either

as consultants on an ongoing basis in the development of a project, or as potential evaluators in the critique of such presented plans. Depending upon the size of the class, it is obvious that it will be necessary to schedule several class periods for the specific purpose of utilizing student presentations.

ONGOING FIELD PROJECT - PART V

Utilizing the theoretical material developed in the course to this point and the previous class project which involved the development of a definition of impoverishement and the application to the local community, the following field project is designed for the purpose of providing the student with an opportunity to actually put the course material to work in a real life situation. The project would consist of four steps:

1. Identify an impoverished population that the student would like to do something about.

2. Identify some of the conditions which appear to be contributing to the maintenance of impoverishment for this population. It may be necessary at this point to confine yourself to conditions related to the operation of one social organization or agency, such as a school or a public welfare agency.

3. Develop a plan designed to reduce these conditions and ultimately to reduce the impact of impoverishment on the specified population.

4. Show how you would evaluate the outcome of your plan; that is, what criteria would you use to determine whether or not it has reduced impoverishment?

EVALUATION - PART V

Suggested Evaluation Criteria Include:

1. Evidence of understanding and use of theoretical and conceptual material presented. For example, how adequately do the definitions used reflect an understanding of the concepts involved in defining poverty within a social deviance frame of reference?

2. Ability to apply the conceptual and theoretical material to a real life situation.

3. Unique proposals and solutions based on the theory presented should be considered as evidence of both assimilation of the material and further cognative processes related to that assimilation. Certainly this must be considered a desirable outcome of the course.

4. The development and/or suggestion of different theoretical approaches to the same problem may also be considered as desirable outcomes of the course, and rated accordingly.

It is suggested that the class presentations be reserved for the last meetings of the class.

It is doubtful that a written, traditional class examination,

either of an objective or subjective nature, would add anything to the suggested field project as an additional evaluative criteria. Instructors may exercise the option of either evaluating the field project on the basis of individual written reports, on the basis of oral presentations, either individually or in groups or panels, or a combination of both oral and written reports.

In Part V of this course, the instructor has a two part role:

1. As an evaluator of the material presented.

2. As an ongoing consultant.

The consultant role is extremely important in that the instructor is responsible for being available to students to the extent that he can help them relate the material as meaningfully as possible to the real life situation with which they select to deal.

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